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The Westward Migration of the Sea Dayaks.

by BENEDICT SANDIN*

(*edited by* TOM HARRISSON)

Editorial Introduction:

114 This paper is a highly condensed version of complex processes which led a great people from the south-east of Borneo right across the spine of the island and down to the South China Sea —where, when they met Europeans as pirates in the last century, [101] they earned their present common name, Sea Dayak. Benedict Sandin started work on compiling this material systematically in 1949, at my suggestion, because there was a serious risk of these traditions dying out unrecorded. But long before that Sandin —who comes of good family and traces descent direct from the culture hero of all "true" Sea Dayaks, Sengalang Burong (see genealogy I, below)—could recite many of these "*tusut*" himself, as a boy of 10. The new generations no longer are so taught.

Working together, mildly, we had rather a lot of trouble fitting the data, based on genealogies and folklore, into some intelligible pattern. A mass of material was collected by Sandin and studied. At one stage we had a fair-size book in manuscript draft. But, while impressive as raw data, it was pretty indigestible stuff. Part of the trouble was that Sandin was working at whole-time jobs in the country and we could seldom get together to correlate his own Dayak knowledge and my western sense of literary discipline and presentation. Happily, by 1954, I was able to get Benedict transferred to the Museum, where he is now Junior Assistant Curator. This promised more rapid progress on a project which had long seemed to me priority. However, through the very good offices of Dr. W. R. Geddes (author of "*The Land Dayaks*" and now Lecturer in Anthropology at Auckland University) he soon got a UNESCO scholarship to New Zealand, where, under the wise supervision of Dr. Gilbert Archey and other Museum friends,

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*Mr. Sandin is now on the staff of the Sarawak Museum (see text).

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he spent a profitable year—but not thinking on *tusut*, naturally. He returned just as I had to go on leave to Europe. 114

In my absence he went into the field and filled in some important gaps. On my return, we—I simply as the one who asked him innumerable questions to clarify, and went over all he wrote in detail—at last got out a resumé of the basic results so far. This is it.

No such piecing together of the Dayak past has previously been attempted. As it stands, this one is only the outline of a beginning. It is hardly thrilling. For a non-Bornean the sequences will be very hard to follow. But I feel that we should publish *something* at this stage, or the whole effort will peter out. I now hope that Sandin will be able to spend a good part of his Museum time on working out the material fully—we have nearly 50 basic genealogies, as well as a mass of related folklore. A few specimen and relevant genealogies are appended to this paper. These are of importance, especially when studied in conjunction with those of other groups, such as the Land Dayaks, Kayans and Kelabits, on which this Museum has built up a large store of recorded material in the past decade. Study proves beyond doubt that although these trees of life start up in the area of mythology, they are firmly rooted in the facts of group history. Whenever some other check (e.g. archeological or from known dates such as the Brunei Royal Family genealogies) has been possible, this material, so easily dismissed as "folklore" and "myth", makes sense. There is anyway no other way we can recapture that history—or protohistory, if you like.

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I will not go into all the dating and other implications at this stage. Let it rest at Sengalang Burong, at 24 generations ago. This makes sense. I am sure that with this and other material, taken in conjunction with Museum excavations of Kelabit upland megalithic structures, old long-house sites on the now uninhabited Usan Apau, extensive archeological work along the Sarawak coast and in Brunei, and the big digs in Niah and Bau Caves—we shall in the foreseeable future be able to provide an orderly picture of what has hitherto looked an exceptionally high grade tangle of human elements in Borneo.

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181 All that need be said here is that Sandin's material documents precisely the sweep West and North of a group which in my first sentence, I termed "a great people". That they are a *people*, the most homogenous in Borneo, has been disputed from time to time for political or pedantic reasons. But anyone with a wide knowledge knew otherwise, as did the Brookes. And the present material amply elaborates the issue. The adjective great I used to indicate the numerical strength of the Sea Dayaks, who clearly swept out under pressure of population. But also I meant it to suggest a quality of the people *individually* and *collectively*—and in no Borneo culture except Kelabit does this distinction vary more from one extreme of not to the other of is according to situation. These *tusut* show a greatness of spirit, discipline and pioneering, which is still much a part of their mood today, although at present overlain with a good deal that is more trivial, and probably temporary.

To some extent, this derives from the fundamentally classless, "democratic" structure of Sea Dayak society. There are "aristocrats", like Sandin himself, who "go back" to Sengalang Burong. But this is seldom *explicit*. And it is overlain by the much deeper feeling that *every* Sea Dayak goes back to Sengalang Burong. The Land Dayaks also have a classless society (I am using this term loosely); what *they* lack is any sense of unity, any shared *remembered* experience outside the local group. They do no *feel* themselves a people. Perhaps the people who are nearest the Sea Dayaks in this respect are the Dusuns. They were the late invaders of North Borneo, contemporarily with the Sea Dayaks in the south. Unfortunately, and despite the scholarly efforts of Mr. I. H. N. Evans, the chronology of Dusun traditions has been almost lost. (I do my "dating" for them from the great value jars brought traditionally on their westward expansion out of "Nonok Kerangang"; two of these I got for the Sarawak Museum, and many others I examined in Dusun country.)

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114 In the full material collected by Benedict Sandin, virtually *every* important piece of Dayak custom and law is related to a specific event, pin-pointed on one or several of the 40-50 basic genealogies. On this, we have a fascinatingly exact record. A whole series of other events, formative in group life (such as

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floods and pestilences, contacts with outside peoples, voyages overseas, first appearances of new foods, materials and techniques) are similarly identified, often with a wealth of detail.

We also have in the Museum files a nice cross-check on the way the Sea Dayaks slew the Serus, the pre-Dayak "aborigines" of the south-west. This was recorded in great detail over months from the last pagan Seru by the late lamented F. Manis, Museum Research Assistant. It abundantly shows what a really different people the pre-Dayak Serus (and Bukitans) were, with customs in many ways related to the so-called Kajangs of the upper Rejang, Kelabits of the upper Baram and northern Indonesian Borneo. This data too, must be worked up. It includes a vocabulary of the now extinct Seru language.

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We would like to thank the following patient, principal field informants: Mujah anak Mambang, Libau anak Garran, Linggi anak Nyanggau and Lawrence Sanggat (now Penghulu (chief) Sanggat of Spaoh); for much assistance in tracing down *tusut* sources, Mr. and Mrs. Desmond Bruen, he then District Officer, Simanggang (now Assistant Resident, Brunei). For other help in sorting things out: The Hon'ble Edward Jerah, B.E.M., Peter Sumbang, Gerunsin Lembat and our old friend Walter Unjah; for general advice and interest, The Hon'ble Anthony Richards (now Resident 1st Division). Mr. R. N. Bryant of the Geological Department has, with the advice of Mr. G. E. Wilford, kindly drawn the two maps. With continued aid of these good allies, we hope before long to offer an authoritative yet exciting "History of the Sea Dayaks", written both in English and Dayak. This will, I hope, only be a introduction to an accredited reconstruction of about the last 4,000 years in this great island. We happen to be ahead on the Sea Dayaks. Meanwhile here is at least a beginning .....

T.H.

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Summary of Tusut and other data to date.

173 As far back to the days of Sengalang Burong, great hero of the Sea Dayaks, these people had lived along the Kapuas and its tributaries in South-east (now Indonesian) Borneo (see Genealogy I). His grandson Surong Gunting was said to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju Range, between the upper Marup and Undup headwaters on the west side of the central watershed (now in Sarawak).

173 101 All the Sea Dayaks, being the descendants of Sengalang Burong, have broadly the same language and custom. On the other hand the Land Dayaks (such as Selakau, Rara, Remun, Dempu, Singgai, Kuap and others) are in a different category from the Sea Dayaks. The Land Dayaks do not celebrate the "Gawai Burong" (bird) festival, due to the fact they are *not* the descendants of Sengalang Burong, the founder of the cult. They speak another language.

173 167 While Surong Gunting was still living in Merakai (one of the tributaries of the Kapuas) before he migrated west to Tiang Laju, he held a historic conference to organize the migration routes to Batang Ai (see Genealogies I and II.)

It was from Merakai that an ancestor, Kajup, was ordered (by Surong Gunting) to lead his followers to migrate and settle in the Undup River, whose mouth is just above Simanggang. Next to him another, Jelian, moved from Merakai to the Undup and lived at Wong Tempangu. From this village Jelian married a woman named Tiong, daughter of the famous Kantu chief.

A few years later another chief named Gelungan came out of Merakai, to lead his followers to live in Undup; but later he moved again with his people to live at Balau Hill, not far below the present town of Simanggang. Because Balau Hill was the first settlement where those people lived, they call themselves "Balau Dayak" to this day. In the same manner, those who inhabited the Undup River call themselves "Undup Dayak".

While living at Balau Hill, Gelungan married a woman named Sendi; and soon after this marriage he left his original followers, and moved to Balu Sebuyau, a branch of the Batang Lupar, near

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its mouth. As they were living here these people, however, got a new name for themselves and are known today as "Sebuyau Dayak". 173 167

Eventually, after the death of the chief, Gelungan, a new generation arose and migrated to Lundu, Samarahan and Meredang Gayam. But because they were of Sebuyau origin, they still regard themselves as "Sebuyau Dayak" to this day; often they stress they are *quite* unlike other Sea Dayaks (which is not true).

Having been widowed by Gelungan, Sendi re-married a Skrang chief named Guang. It was said that this marriage was inspired in a dream, by a spirit. The spirit told them that if they married, their descendants after them would become great and wealthy. When Sendi came to live with Guang she brought with her seven male and seven female slaves, just to show that she was a woman of authority.

Now, from Tiang Laju mountain, after the death of Surong Gunting, his people moved to upper Marup, near the town of Engkilili. Then, from upper Marup, a chief named Ambau moved to build a longhouse at Pengkalan Tabau in the Batang Ai.

The other migration leaders were men like Lanong, who led his people to build their longhouse at Rantau Langkong; Gunggu, who lived with his people at Meriyu, below the Engkilili station. One of the most famous Chiefs, named Kanyong, whose nickname was "Gendang Ketebong", led his people to build a very commanding longhouse at Merarang Cape on the midway from Engkilili to Lubok Antu. From this longhouse of Kanyong originated the Sea Dayak custom known as *"Pati Nyawa"* which means compensation (see later) is now incorporated in colony law. It so happened, at that time, that some of the followers of Semalanjat of Bungkap went out to the jungle to hunt; and one of them was accidently killed by the followers of Kanyong. Due to this killing, Semalanjat was furious; he planned an attack against Kanyong and his people. On hearing this, Kanyong invited other chiefs such as Kajup of Undup, Ambau of Pangkalan Tabau and Medan of Sengkarong Langkang, to help defend his house at Merarang Cape. Being a diplomatic man, Meringai of Skrang came down to see them immediately, with the intention of settling their problem amicably. Thus the proposed 173 167 628

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attack was successfully avoided and an agreement was reached that, in case of death due to accident, the guilty party had to pay compensation to the injured party. Here, then, began a very important custom of compensation, *"Pati Nyawa"*, among the Sea Dayak. It has saved thousands of lives in vengeance.

Another ancestor, named Medan, led his people to live at Meruan Sengkarong Langkang, not far below the mouth of Lemanak in the Batang Ai. A chief named Semalanjat left Tiang Laju mountain with his people to live at Bungkap. In the meeting before their separation it was decided that each chief should go his own way and not meddle with the other's internal affairs, except to render any possible aid at the time of war against enemies. The only important enemies of these people (in those days) were the Kantu and Bugau people in the Indonesian territory. The enmity was originally started in the days of Sarapoh, a cousin of Sengalang Burong himself.

In those days Dayaks were beginning to be padi planters. *In addition*, they planted yams, tapioca and other crops, now seldom found in the present generation. They had no festivals other than Birds, Stones and "Gawai Antu", the festival for the spirits.

* * * * *

From Batang Ai a chief name Meringai led another party to migrate to Skrang River, while one of his fellow chiefs named Manggi migrated into Tisak, a tributary of Skrang, and settled there. Manggi was a very brave man, soon enobled with nickname "Engkeratong Gendang". When he was living here, it happened that his daughter fell sick. He sent two of his men to invite Manang Jelapi, a Balau wizard from Stirau, to doctor her. When Manang Jelapi arrived, Manggi swore that if his daughter could be cured, he would not hesitate to consent to her marrying Jelapi's son. Hearing this, Manang Jelapi was very pleased; and he started to perform his witch-craft to cure the sick girl. Fortunately, next day she was well again. Before he returned home, Jelapi enquired from Manggi when he should come again to talk over the proposed marriage between their children. Manggi denied he knew of any such proposal. Jelapi declared that Manggi really *did* make a promise to the effect that he would consent to his daughter's marriage to Jelapi's son if he (Jelapi) could cure her from illness. But Manggi violently denied this and swore he had

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never mentioned such a thing. After long argument, Jelapi was very angry; he returned home ashamed and furious. 173

A week later, this same girl was taken ill again. Manggi suspected that her soul must have been stolen by Jelapi, in his wroth. Eventually the girl died. In his grief over his daughter's death, Manggi arranged for two of his men to go to Stirau and persuade Jelapi to come over. "If he refuses," said Manggi, "snatch away his medicine box (*lupong*) by force; then, if he follows you, kill him as revenge for my daughter's death".

Two of his men went out accordingly. They reached Stirau. One of them went up to Jelapi's house, while the other waited at the landing stage. On his arrival at Jelapi's house, the man told Jelapi that he was sent by Manggi to fetch him to cure his daughter, who was ill again. Jelapi refused to go—since, he, Manggi did not keep his promise. He could not be persuaded; he was afraid of being deceived twice.

Following Manggi's instructions, his man snatched up Jelapi's medicine box and ran off with it. Jelapi followed him, running behind; and while passing the other man, hiding at the landing stage, he was attacked and killed instantly. Immediately Jelapi died, the horizon turned dark and the wind blew fierce over the land, followed by a great storm. Jelapi's body was miraculuously transformed into a huge boulder, known as "Batu Jelapi", situated at Stirau in the Batang Lupar River.

After the death of his daughter, Manggi moved again, and had his house built in the middle reaches of the Tisak. In Tisak river there were (and still are) plenty of big "tapah" (carp) fish. So Manggi and his people habitually made fish traps for them. One morning, as Manggi came down to examine the catch, he found one of his traps had caught two huge fish; these he brought home with him. 173 167

While he was opening the belly of one fish he discovered three beautiful plates, which he kept—they remain in the possession of his descendants to this day. It is said that if a male child is to be born in this family, he must be given his first bath from one of these sacred plates. Thence he moved up the Tisak and finally went down the Meludam River. From the Meludam he

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173 went up the Saribas and built a temporary house at Semaruang, then removed to live at Supa. Before he completed building his
167 house at Supa, he heard that the Rimbas region was full of Serus (pre-Dayaks) who occasionally invaded the Paku and Layar Dayaks in the upper Saribas. In order to negotiate the Serus peacefully, he went overland to Rimbas; but when he reached Debak, unfortunately, he was taken ill and died. His body was buried at Debak. Because Manggi was buried there, this cemetry is known to this day as his.

173 After his death the house which he left half-built at Supa was deserted by his followers; consequently this place is called "Burok Rumah" (rotten house) to this day.

[167] There was another chief, named Magal (whose nickname was "Begagah Lubok Medang"), who left Skrang in company with his followers to live at a place called Blai Paku Mati. While he was living here it happened that some of his people went out to catch Argus Pheasants. When they had caught one, they brought it home to kill it; then put it on the winnower basket to dress it. While they left it, to fetch their knives for dressing it, the bird suddenly made an unhappy lowtoned sound "*ngembau*". Upon hearing this they looked at it closely and found a small knife stuck in its throat. This knife they picked out and kept; and at the same time thought that it must have been given by the goddesses Kumang and Indai Abang respectively—so that any women who used it would become expert blanket and cloth weavers, as well as clever mat-makers.

The meat of the Argus Pheasant was afterwards cooked; and those who participated in eating it were therefore cursed (*tau tepang*). These cursed persons were possessed with evil tongues. Being so, their descendants, through to the present day, are hardly able to marry others, who regarded and regard them still as under this dreadful curse.

Another famous ancestor, named Chaong, lived in the Skrang and had a longhouse with his followers at the tip of Lipat Cape. After his death, his son Tindin was installed as his successor. Tindin was brave, energetic and reportedly good at administering the affairs of his people. When he was living at Lipat, Tindin dreamed that he was met by a goddess Indai Kumang, who gave

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him charms so that he could always be successful in wars; she also swore to him that seven of his future descendants would become leaders of war. Not long afterwards Tindin moved from Lipat up the Enteban river, to clear the virgin jungle for the everlasting possession of his people.

From upper Enteban he explored the Layar and Padeh regions in Saribas (Sarawak, 2nd Division). These districts had long been the homes of aboriginals, such as the nomadic Punans and the Bukitans, just as the Rimbas and Krian were peopled by Serus—all people living here long before the Dayaks moved west.

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Hearing that Paku region was a very fertile land but the home of the Bukitan, Tindin declared war on them. Entingi, a Bukitan chief, heard news of this and called his people to an urgent meeting, seeking their opinion whether to defend themselves in their own country or to seek the enemy in enemy country. In the end they thought it best not to fight in their own territory; for they feared lest, in case of defeat, the lives of their women and children would be in danger. So Entingi agreed to lead them to seek the invaders in their territory.

As he felt sure that Tindin would lead his invading troops by the route from the upper Enteban across the Padeh and down the Geraji, towards Layar river, Entingi led his men from Paku towards Enteban, in order to attack Tindin on the way. But as they reached the Tinting Kayu Ukir (Empelai Tinggi Bandir Range) the two opposing troops unexpectedly met—and here they fought. They fought hard. Neither side showed a will to surrender. Meanwhile, Entingi called Tindin by the Bukitan word *isan*, which meant cousin in the Dayak language. "Why do you called me *isan*," replied Tindin, "have you any son?" "Yes, I have a son," said Entingi. "Now let us sit down," said Entingi, "to try and resolve our misunderstanding peacefully." Tindin was glad at hearing these gracious words from the headman of his enemy; he agreed to end the fighting, in order to reason out their quarrel.

Tindin then declared it would be wise and proper if Entingi, who claimed he had a son, at once agreed to a marriage between

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173 this son and Tindin's own daughter, in order that peace could be restored between the Dayak and Bukitan. "But", he said, "the marriage can only be approved (as far as my side is concerned), if your side agree to pay me a compensation known as *drian palit mata*, for the purpose of abolishing racial enmity between us."

Entingi promptly agreed; he furthermore claimed that he had no malice in his heart, neither had he any territorial ambition other than to defend the life of his people against the invading *Iban*. Eventually it was here that the Sea Dayaks were first called Iban *by the Bukitan*, due to the fact that they were pushing other races out and taking all into their possession.

Entingi furthermore assured Tindin that before long he would pay the *drian palit mata* as claimed—so that his son, Demong, could be allowed to make Rinda, Tindin's daughter, his legal wife.

In his further claim Tindin thought it would be proper for him to ask for a padi-bin full of new heads plus a brass gong be presented to him as a mark that he was not just an ordinary chief, but one of extraordinary authority who had the right to claim for dowry *drian* according to the tradition founded by Serapoh.

At the conclusion of their negotiations Entingi said that he agreed to all this; at the same time, he thought it would be proper to invite Tindin to come over with him to Paku, to see for himself the beauty and fertility of that district. The eager Tindin at once consented and took some of his leading warriors with him. In Paku, Entingi took Tindin round the district and eventually brought him to meet another Bukitan chief named Entigu, who then lived at the mouth of Gelu Penuan.

On this visit Tindin found that Entigu and his people were widely different in a variety of ways from Entingi's people. Entigu and his people were not "Bukitan Kampong" who did regularly farm, as did Entingi and his people. Before they moved away towards Julau and the Rejang, these Bukitans, under the leadership of Entigu, had twice suffered from the attacks of severe and sweeping "sakit puru" epidemic (smallpox). A third group was under chief Agam at the mouth of Gelu Penuan.

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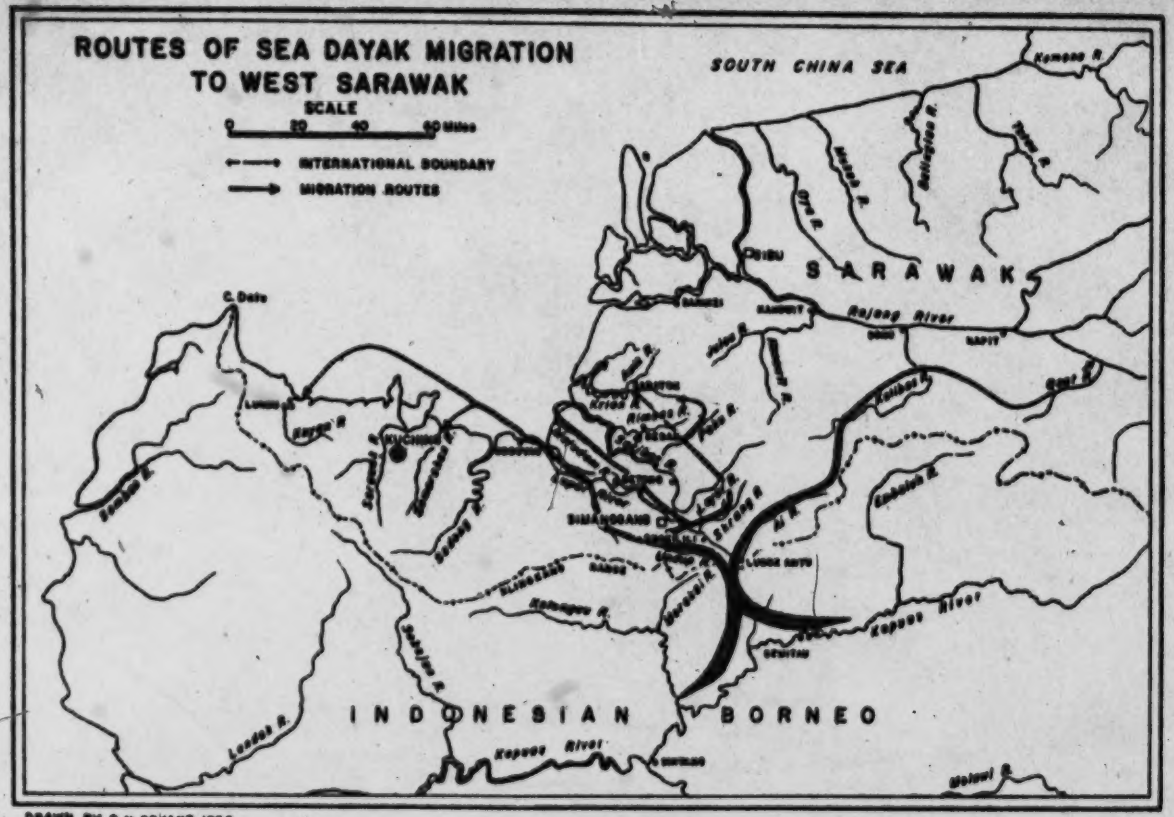

DRAWN BY R. H. BRYANT, 1956

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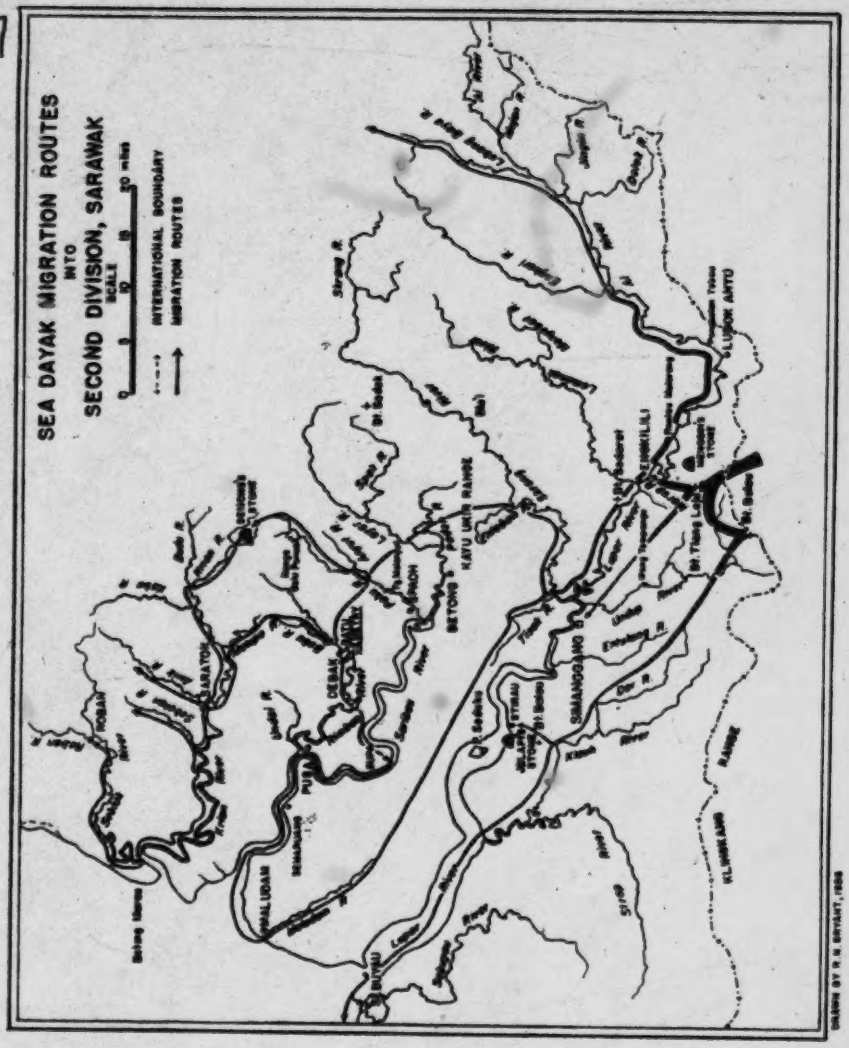

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Also it was said that Bangkit's village at the mouth of Kasai stream had once undergone an attack of this deadly epidemic, until no one remained alive to bury the others. The site of this settlement to this day is known as "Pulau Bangkit".

This was because the ancient Bukitan did not bury corpses under the ground. There are plenty of sacred places known as "Taju Bukitan" in Paku river to this day. These places are not to be burnt; neither would anyone dare farm, which makes them remain *pulau mali* (forbidden islets).

After Tindin had seen the width and length and fertility of the land, he told Entingi he was attracted and would like to migrate there, if Entingi would permit him and his followers to do so. Entingi assured him he would, if he agreed to this marriage of daughter to son. "Should we be made kin through such a marriage, then in future this country will become the everlasting inheritance of our children", said Entingi. Tindin said that he would, provided that Entingi would pay him the dowry as claimed and finally agree to let him and his people migrate after the marriage had been celebrated.

When all these things had been fully discussed, Tindin asked for further presents as a token of this first marriage between Sea Dayak and Bukitan:—

> One brass canon. One blowpipe. One native hat known as "*tanggoi seruong*", favouritely worn by the Dayak noble women of the old days.

These things were claimed by Tindin, in order to show that he was a man of rank who heartily consented to marriage of his only daughter, Rinda, to Demong the son of Entingi the (more lowly) Bukitan chief. Entingi agree to give all as claimed; a month later, after he had supplied the dowry, including a great number of human heads, a grand marriage feast was celebrated in the bride's house, at the mouth of the Enteban in the Skrang River. Following the customary manner of Sea Dayak marriage, the bridegroom's parents and their people had to come over to fetch the bride at her house. This was followed later by the customary visits known as *ngundang pinang*, paid by the newly married couple, who, in this particular case, were married and stayed in the bride's house, then had to go to the bridegroom's.

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173 A year later Rinda gave birth to her eldest male child followed by four more (cf. Genealogy II):

Rinda (*f*) X Demong..... Kalanang, Kelimbang,
(Dayak) (Bukitan) Bundak, Jawai (*f*),
and Bakak.

173 766 Unfortunately, Jawai, Demong's only daughter, died when she was about fifteen years of age. But, because she was of noble birth, her body was *not* buried in the ordinary Sea Dayak way (in the ground). Instead the corpse was respectfully kept in a coffin. This coffin was not buried, but closed and put on a platform raised about six feet from the ground, to await the decomposition of the flesh. This method of preserving the dead of the noble families, as well as the place of preserving them, was known as *lumbong*. The site of Jawai's *lumbong* is still known, though such practices nowadays have been abandoned, just as their orginators, the Bukitans, have disappeared.

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173 167 Turn to Tindin again. He came with his Dayak followers by boat from Skrang to Paku. On his arrival he first settled at a place called Penggan, afterwards moved to Melanyut Cape, where he died of old age and was greatly mourned by both the Sea Dayaks and the Bukitans.

After Tindin's death his people multiplied rapidly, while on the other hand the Bukitans decreased—partly because of the regular epidemics and partly due to Dayak migration from upper Paku towards Julau and upper Rejang by Entigu and his followers.

173 Tindin's daughter, Rinda, died soon after giving birth to her last child, Bakak. Later Demong remarried. This time he married a Bukitan woman, named Lemia, from whom he had many children. These children afterwards all married women of their mother's race.

173 423 Demong was by now an aged man and knew that the time would soon come when he had to die, leaving all his children on their own. Being a man of foresight, he made a plan to safeguard both the interests of all the children by the first wife and those of the second wife. To carry this out he erected a stone at a

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place not far from the mouth of Awas, in upper Krian River. This erected stone served, through Demong's personal ruling, as a boundary for his children by the first wife and the other children by the second wife—that is, all the children begot by the first wife would own the old land lying from the Paku River and lower Krian as far as the erected stone only; and all the children begot by the second wife would own the new land lying from that stone towards the Julau and Rejang Rivers. However, the first group was allowed to pass beyond the stone; and second group was not allowed to turn back towards the old lands behind that stone.

This stone, which was erected by Demong a few hundred years ago, is still intact. And strange as it was, Demong's ruling about the division of land among his children is still followed up to the present generation. People from Paku and lower Krian have gone over to the Rejang; but not one from the Rejang has ever returned to that former land.

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After the death of Demong, all the children of his first wife, except Bakak, lived and multiplied in the Paku. Bakak, in his young days, wandered to Batang Ai, where he married and later died (of old age).

There were scores of notable Sea Dayak leaders who came to live in Layar, Padeh, Paku and Rimbas after the death of Tindin. They were Temegoh of Bangkit, Talap of Pasa, Duau of Luban, Gerijeh of Padeh, Patinggi Ngadan of Layar. Jenua of Pusa, Padang of Undai and some others. The names of all these leaders survive in songs and genealogies.

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The migration to Krian was comparatively recent. It took place about 1800 A.D. by the Saribas Dayaks. Early in 1956 the collector of this data travelled to Kelaka, to find out from various people there the history of that river.

Linggi anak Nyanggau of Kemidan, Awik, Saratok, made the following statement:

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"It was because the Saribas District was over populated. Therefore all the leading Chiefs decided to ask some of the most reliable, brave warriors to lead new migrations to the Krian. During this time, Krian was still thickly populated by the Serus, who in those days had frequently attacked the Dayaks of Paku and Rimbas Rivers. The largest Seru village of that time was situated at Nanga Diso in the Awik River. Therefore, in order to get rid of the Serus as well as to effect the migration, the leading Dayak warriors made this large village of the Serus their target".

The first Sea Dayak migration to the lower Krian was led by Temenggong Tandok who built his commanding house at Nanga Melupa. How he obtained the rank of "Temenggong" is still unanswered; though many people believed that this honour was bestowed upon him by the Malay chief, Molana of Kalaka, who bestowed the rank of Orang Kaya on the two chiefs of Rimbas, Gun (Orang Kaya Mangku Bumi) and his brother Antau (Orang Kaya Linggang Negri) respectively.

At about this time one of the Paku chiefs, named Bayang, migrated with his followers to the upper Krian, was followed later by many others who joined him to drive out the Bukitans from the country. During the whole lifetime of Temenggong Tandok and Bayang, they were both unceasingly engaged in war with Serus and Bukitans, though the former resisted to the last.

* * * * *

In about 1839 another migration was planned. This time it was decided that Sa and Entri were to explore the land in Awik river, a right hand branch of the Krian. They discovered that the land in question was very fertile and suitable for farming. They returned home; unfortunately soon after their arrival they both died. Due to this accident, the proposed migration was delayed until the mourning period was over.

Eventually, three years after the death of Sa and Entri, an eldest son of the former named Enchana (whose nickname was "Letan") led the proposed migration overland. Upon arriving at Krian River they built a number of boats for them to go up the Awik. On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they

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On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they[1] heard an omen (*Jaloh Kanan*) bird shrieking from their right hand side. This omen, it was believed, indicated that they all would always be successful in both planting padi and in fighting their enemies. The future men of their tribe would always be lucky in their undertakings; but the average of their age would be shorter than that of the women's. The place where these people first settled was at Lubok Gamba.

About five years later two parties came out of the Saribas to migrate to the Sablak and Sabetan rivers in Krian. In the early years of their arrival in these two rivers, they both fought hard with the last Serus, who had been driven out of Awik and who now kept on opposing the permanent settlement of Dayak migration in those districts. Finally, after a long war, fought continuously between their opposing parties, the Serus surrendered and the victorious Sea Dayaks took their land.

After their defeat almost all the remaining Serus took refuge with the Malays and later adopted the Muslim religion. Today, though these live together in the same villages with the Malays, they still claim that they are of Seru origin, inspite of their cultural changes. Only one remains pagan.

* * * * *

The migration of the Sea Dayak to Entabai, Julau and other places in the Rejang took place around 1840-1850 from various places such as Delok, Lubang Baya, Lemanak, Skrang and Saribas.

There were many other later Dayak migrations, after 1850, sponsored by the Brookes, to other rivers in the Third Division, later spreading to the Fourth and Fifth Divisions just before, during and after the Second World war. The process continues ....

[1] [A party of Iban.—Analyst]

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SPECIMEN GENEALOGIES

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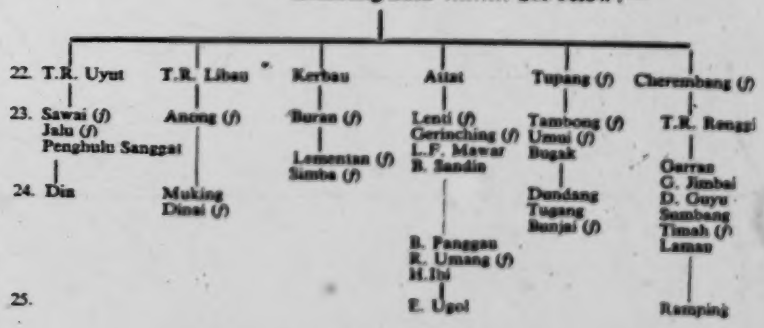
GENEALOGY I

This family tree descends from Sengalang Burong. It shows how long since the Sea Dayaks have already migrated into Sarawak from Indonesian Borneo.

1. Sengalang Burong	× Endu Sudan (*f*).....	Tinchin Temaga (*f*)
2. Tinchin Temaga (*f*)	× Menggin.....	Surong Gunting
3. Surong Gunting	× Surong Ngiang (*f*).....	Surong Kempat
4. Surong Kempat	× Ranjau (*f*).....	Ridoh (*f*)
5. Ridoh (*f*)	× Bada.....	Gupi (*f*)
6. Gupi (*f*)	× Grasi "Biang Pinggang".....	Geraman (Ensoh)
7. Geraman	× Tebari.....	Beragai (*f*)
8. Beragai (*f*)	× Chundau.....	Beti
9. Beti	× Duri (*f*).....	Pandak (*f*)
10. Pandak (*f*)	× Talak.....	Badas (*f*)
11. Badas (*f*)	× Girik.....	Blaki
12. Blaki	× Buang (*f*).....	Penyut
13. Penyut	× Endia (*f*).....	Sudan (*f*), Jering (*f*)
14. Sudan (*f*)	× Salang.....	Blaki, Jimbai, Kader
15. Blaki	× Bremas (*f*).....	Lada (*f*), Ugap, Bayang
16. Lada(*f*)	× Awan.....	Sawai (*f*),Jering (*f*)
17. Sawai (*f*)	× Kaya.....	Cheraring (*f*),Jantan, Lumpoh, Nyaru (*f*) Sian (*f*), Endayan (*f*)
18. Cheraring (*f*)	× Jiram "Rentap".....	Cherembang (*f*), Mawat, Laja, Mengga.
19. Cherembang (*f*)	× Adir "Bungkok".....	Anong (*f*), Tindin, Lui, Sawai (*f*), Dudut (*f*),Imar.
20. Anong (*f*)	× Linggir "Mali Lebu"....	Umang (*f*), Penghulu Kenyeh.
21. Umang (*f*)	× Penghulu Garran "Lembang Batu".....	See below:—



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Note:

1. Sengalang Burong was the greatest hero of the Sea Dayaks, the originator of various cults, such as the celebration of Bird Festival "*Gawai Burong*" and the strict observance of omens.

2. Menggin was Sengalang Burong's son-in-law, believed to have been living along the Kapuas basin before the migration of the Sea Dayak into Sarawak. He lived to very old age, died in the lifetime of his great-great-great-grand daughter Beragai. At the foot of Tiang Laju mountain there is a huge boulder known as "Batu Menggin", said to be Menggin's remains, miraculously turned into solid rock.

3. Surong Gunting was the son of Menggin and Dara Tinchin Temaga, who led the Sea Dayak migrations into Sarawak. He himself was a Chief who led his followers to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju range. Look at the map of Sarawak and you will find that one of Tiang Laju's peaks is called "Tangga Sarran"; this literally means "Sarran's Ladder". Sarran was one of Surong Gunting's followers.

15. Blaki was accidently killed by a party of the invading Serus while he was looking after his farm, then lying between the Paku and the Samu Rivers. His head, taken by the enemy, was afterwards discovered by his brothers, Jimbai and Kader, during their chase of the Serus to the upper Bong stream. After the discovery of the head they buried it under a huge tapang tree, "Tapang Blaki".

16. Awan was a famous ancestor, who came from Padeh to marry Lada (f) of Paku after the death of the latter's father, Blaki. Awan was the grandson of a famous Padeh Chief, Jantin ("Moa Hari").

18. Jiram, whose nickname was "Rentap" (not the later Rentap of Sadok), a very ambitious Saribas war leader who led his warriors to fight the Rejang, was defeated at Kanowit—where he and the majority of his troops were killed.

20. Linggir, whose nickname was "Mali Lebu" (literally means Socialist) was one of the most famous Sea Dayak Chiefs of Saribas, who with his followers fought Admiral (the then Captain) Keppel during the taking of Paku in 1843. In 1844 he paid his first visit to Sarawak, where he was presented by the Rajah with a spear and a flag of State. On his return, he was authorized to bring letters from the Rajah to the other Sea Dayak and Malay leaders of Saribas, viz: the Laksmana of Paku, Datu Patinggi, Datu Bandar, Lila Wangsa, Abang Mansor, Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and Bulan Patan of the upper Layar. On the 31st July, 1849, he *again* fought the Government forces at the famous battle of Beting

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Maro. Early in August of the same year Linggir and his warriors attacked the Rajah's advancing flotilla at Nanga Peka, where Tujang and Bunsi, the sons of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu, were killed in an ambush. Linggir's other actions and friendliness towards the Europeans as well as his brother Native Chiefs had been referred to by the first and second Rajahs in their writings. He died in 1878 and was succeeded as Chief by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Garran, who died in 1901.

21. Penghulu Kenyeh was the successor of his cousin and brother-in-law, Penghulu Garran. He was the grandfather of the late Penghulu Andil of Paku.

22. T. R. Uyut was the eldest son of Penghulu Garran who (about 1894) went to Malaya to join the Police Force there to quell the trouble in the State of Pahang. Due to his meritorious service he was then awarded the flag of State, still kept by his son Lawrence Sanggat, present Penghulu of Paku.

23. Benedict Sandin is the principal collector of this data. Renggi is the present headman of the Tanjong longhouse, in succession to his uncle Uyut, who died in 1927. Of Renggi's two sons, George Jimbai is working in Iban section of Radio Sarawak, while David Guyu is with the Department of Geology, Kuching.

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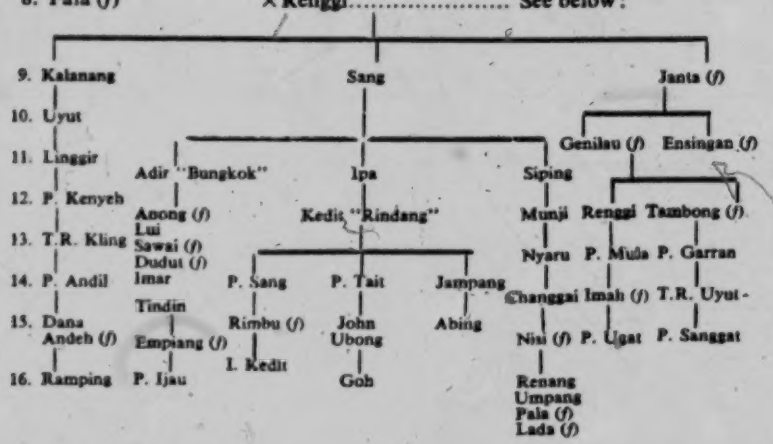
GENEALOGY II

This genealogical tree descends from Tindin to show how long ago the Sea Dayaks had migrated from Merakai to Tiang Laju, then to Skrang and finally to Paku in Saribas. 173 167

1. Tindin	× Tida (*f*).....	Rinda (*f*)
2. Rinda (*f*)	× Demong (Bukitan).....	Kelanang, Kelimbang, Bundak, Jawai (*f*), Bakak.
3. Kelanang	× Laus (*f*).....	Tuah
4. Tuah	× Sarong (*f*).....	Sing
5. Sing	× Lai (*f*).....	Busu
6. Busu	× Jering (*f*).....	Uyut "Badilang", Menging (*f*), Bremas (*f*), Rinda (*f*).
7. Uyut	× Nangku (*f*).....	Pala (*f*), Empari, Linggir, Entemang, Nisi (*f*), Sendai (*f*), Timah (*f*).
8. Pala (*f*)	× Renggi.....	See below:



Note:

1. Tindin, after the death of his father Chaong, led his people to build their longhouse at Lipat Cape in Skrang. Later he opposed the Bukitan Chief, Entingi, and then become very friendly, after the marriage of his daughter Rinda with Entingi's son Demong as mentioned at number 2 in the genealogy above and in the main text. After the death of Rinda he married a Bukitan woman named Lemia, who got him many children (see main text).

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3. Kelanang was eldest son of Demong, reportedly a very brave and influential Chief, who led his people to fight against the Serus in the old jungle of Paku.

6. Busu was another famous Chief, first to lead the Paku Dayaks to fell (for cultivation) all the trees along the Paku River, starting from Nanga Beduru right up to the mouth of River Anyut. His son, Uyut, married Nangku, daughter of another Chief, Sang of Anyut. After the death of his father-in-law, Uyut succeeded him, to lead his people and cut down all the jungle along the Anyut and its right and left tributaries. When he died, Uyut was buried at Nanga Bujut Cemetery in the upper Anyut.

8. Renggi came from Padeh to marry Pala, daughter of Uyut. Due to his outstanding diplomacy, he was appointed Chief after the death of his father-in-law, instead of any of his brothers-in-law.

10. Adir (nickname "Bungkok") was a very conservative but respectable Chief. He was not a man of war. He died of very old age, which caused him to be called "*Bungkok*" (literally means *bend*).

11. Kedit (nickname "Rindang") was a brave warrior under Linggir, who killed Bunsi the son of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu in the Rajah's expedition against Paku in 1849. His sons Penghulus Sang and Tait were the valued servants of the second and third white Rajahs respectively.

12. Penghulu Mula was the successor of Penghulu Kedit of Paku Ulu, who died in 1903. His cousin, Penghulu Garran, was the successor of Linggir who died in 1901.

14. Penghulu Ugat was the predecessor of Sanggat, the present Penghulu of Paku. (cf. Genealogy I).

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GENEALOGY III

This genealogy descends from Temegoh, the first Sea Dayak leader to migrate to Bangkit, a right tributary of Paku, Saribas. Temegoh is said to have been a very grand chief with a big family of thirty persons including his slaves. The quotation in the Dayak songs in connection with him reads: *"Temegoh betuboh maioh tiga puloh ngaum pengurang"*.

1. Temegoh	× Reminda (*f*)	Sulang
2. Sulang	× Enduyan (*f*)	Rantai
3. Rantai	× Jintan (*f*)	Nani (*f*)
4. Nani (*f*)	× Nimong	Nanggar
5. Nanggar	× Lantak (*f*)	Gerijeh, Bangkam, Guroh, La.
6. Gerijeh	× Darun (*f*)	Nyeluai (*f*)
7. Nyeluai (*f*)	× Kelukut "Batu Galang"	Inai (*f*)
8. Inai (*f*)	× Ampi	Dass, Renyam (*f*)
9. Dass	× Embun (*f*)	Runya (*f*), Rinta (*f*), Dugong.
10. Runya (*f*)	× Musit	Gulang (*f*)
11. Gulang (*f*)	× Sumbang "Mata Hari"	Ibi, Lium, Ugol, Sian (*f*), Guroh.
12. Ibi	× Sarong (*f*)	See below:

13. Gadoh	Begri	Luat	Seluka (*f*)
14. Chundi	Lanjing (*f*)	Peter Sumbang	Evelyn Lemok
15.	Albert Dass	Johnson Sudok	
	Guang	Nara (*f*)	Rosalind Umang
	Rampai	Cherida (*f*)	Berrum Penggau
	Masing	Muja	Henry Ibi
	Bilon	Penyut	Edmund Ugol

Note:

6. Gerijeh was a Chief who fought with Senabong and his Sebuyaus, as a result of a *tapang* tree dispute between them in the Bangkit district, Paku. His brothers, Guroh, Bangkam and La, were all men of influence and also brave in war. His father Nanggar was one of the Saribas warleaders of his time.

11. Sumbang (nickname "Mata Hari", later changed to "Ngelingkong Nanga Sugai") was a brave warrior under Linggir. He killed many during Linggir's expeditions against Apai Siba's house at Sugai, in the upper Julau River, about 1839, and later during the expedition against Matu. He died in 1896.

12. Ibi was headman of the longhouse at Ijok, Bangkit. He died in 1936. His brothers Ugol and Guroh were both Sea Dayak war-leaders who played a leading part in quelling the rebellious Matsalleh in British North Borneo about the end of the last century.

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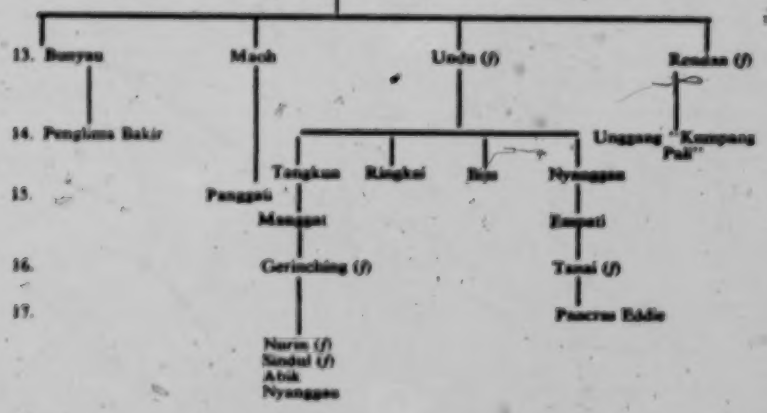
GENEALOGY IV

173 167 This genealogy descends from Sendi (f) of Sebuyau who married Guang of Skrang as related already in this history. Before he married Sendi, Guang was a widower due to the death of his wife Genilau, daughter of Basok and grand-daughter of Singka Nayan of Tapang Peraja on Batang Ai.

1. Sendi (f)	× Guang	Tida (f), Tair.
2. Tair	× Giam (f)	Anchap
3. Anchap	× Judi (f)	Rendan (f)
4. Rendan (f)	× Manggi	Tama
5. Tama	× Manyi (f)	Krebau
6. Krebau	× Nisi (f)	Ujor (f)
7. Ujor (f)	× Gendup	Mawar, Meling, Eddie, Ranti, Rinya (f).
8. Mawar	× Lena (f)	Galau
9. Galau	× Chandu (f)	Ladang (f), Imban.
10. Ladang (f)	× Bunyau	Unggang "Lebor Menoa".
11. Unggang	× Sangan (f)	Mulok, Luta, Ketit, Selaka (f), Sulan (f).
12. Sulan (f)	× Awan	See below:



Note:

5. Manggi was a Chief mentioned fully in this account.

8. Mawar was a mighty war-leader who gladly consented to the marriage of his son Galau to Chandu, daughter of the Batang Ai Chief named Bau of Enteli.

11. Unggang (nickname "Lebor Menoa") was a mighty warleader of Saribas. It was claimed that due to his destructive invasion upon the inhabitants of the mouth of Sarawak River, this place today is known as "Muara Tebas" (mouth cut

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down). His sons Mulok, Luta and Ketit were all brave and adventurous men, who perished off the Datu Cape while trying to cross the China Sea in search of old jars overseas.

13. Both Bunyau and his cousin Maoh were well known for their bravery in time of war, as well as in administering their people's affairs.

14. Penglima Bakir was the chief of Lower Saribas. He went to invite Sir Charles Brooke—to come over and direct the construction of a Fort at Betong in 1858. Penglima Bakir and the people of Lower Saribas were in great enmity and rivalry with the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and his sons. The latter had continuously fought the Sarawak Government till their ultimate fall at Sadok mountain in 1861. During those troubled days, in their anxiety for Bakir's head, the familiar saying of the Sadok women went as follows: "If you are a man, go to Betong fort and bring back to us the head of Bakir or that of Mr. Watson (Tuan Assan)". After the death of Bakir the chieftainship passed to his cousin Ringkai, who later was installed as Pengarah at Simanggang Fort in 1884. Ringkai was famous for his ability in dealing with native affairs. Besides, he was a member of Council Negri and said to be the outstanding Chief of his time. After his death in 1902 his younger brother, Penghulu Biju, was nominated to succeed him. Penghulu Biju was the Chief specially invited by the third Rajah to open the Brooke Memorial Statue at Pangkalan Batu, Kuching. On his retirement (on pension) he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Empati.

17. Pancras Eddie is now working with Radio Sarawak, Kuching.

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GENEALOGY V

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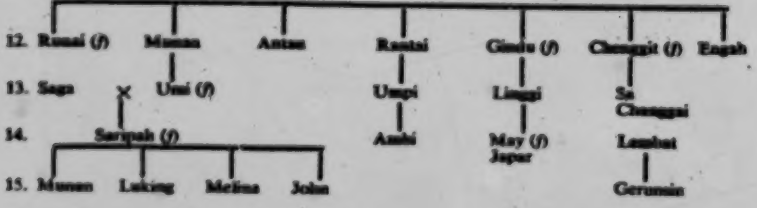
This descends from a Chief named Jelian who migrated from Merakai to Undup and had his longhouse built at Wong Tampangu. Jelian was the originator of the Sea Dayak custom of *Nungkun ka Dapor*.. This old custom, that the kitchen of each family must not be allowed to grow cold—was common among the Sea Dayak.

1. Jelian	× Tiong (*f*)	Bredai (*f*)
2. Bredai (*f*)	× Braoh	Meradana
3. Meradana	× Selaka (*f*)	Mulu (*f*)
4. Mulu (*f*)	× Baling	Ugah
5. Ugah	× Tegang (*f*)	Rendong (*f*)
6. Rendong (*f*)	× Encharang	Selaka(*f*), Punai (*f*).
7. Punai (*f*)	× Ingging	Ganing, Nyangun.
8. Ganing	× Lamah (*f*)	Geliga
9. Geliga	× Kelang (*f*)	Sa "Lua"
10. Sa "Lua"	× Melaya (*f*)	Enchana "Letan", Menggin, Minggat, Gurang "Bulan", Gading (*f*), Dembu (*f*).
11. Minggat	× Jara (*f*)	See below:



Note:

8. Both Ganing and his brother Nyangun were leading warriors under the Chief Sang of Anyut.

10. Sa "Lua" was one of the two men who explored the Awik district in the Krian, to see the suitability of this land for migration. He died immediately after his return from this trip, was buried at Batu Anchau Cemetery in Paku.

11. Minggat was the leading warrior under Linggir of Paku. After his migration to Awik he became a famous warleader and rendered valuable service to Sarawak Government. He participated in attacking and eventually destroying Lang Nyindang's stronghold on the Stulak Hill at the upper Kanowit River. Later, during the Kedang Expedition in 1886, he was

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appointed by H. H. the Rajah (Sir Charles Brooke) as head of warriors. One of his well-known victories was his successful invasion of the Ensiring Dayaks in the Rejang. He died in Sumatra in 1891. 173 167

12. Munan was an eldest son of Minggat. He joined his father's party to sail to Sumatra and after his father's death he led back to Sarawak. He married Subang, the grand daughter of "Sadok" Rentap at Entabai. He led seven expeditions. His three famous victories were; first, an attack upon Jimbau's house in the upper Engkari; second, invasion of the Batang Ai Dayaks when his party came out from upper Kanowit unnoticed by the enemies; and third, an expedition against the Kayans in the upper Rejang, when he and his troop killed hundreds of enemies. Munan, due to his bravery, was appointed to become the Great Chief (Penghulu Dalam) of Sibu. He was also appointed member of the Council Negri. He was the head of the Sea Dayak representatives from Lower Rejang during the peace making ceremony with Bantin at Kapit in 1907. He died on December 14th, 1914, and was buried at Pulau Kretau, Sibu.

14. Gerunsin Lembat is the Assistant Principal, Rural Improvement School, Kanowit. He has helped much in Museum studies of the Dayaks and is the Curator's good friend.

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GENEALOGY VI

173 167 This genealogy descends from Jelenggai to show how Patinggi Nyadan had already migrated into Sarawak from Sumatra, as mentioned briefly in this history already.

1. Jelenggai	× Bintang Banyak (*f*)	Selamuda
2. Selamuda	× Manis Muka (*f*)	Begri
3. Begri	× Seniya (*f*)	Busok "Tandok Raja".
4. Busok	× Singgau (*f*)	Mai
5. Ma.	× Jelawai (*f*)	Patinggi Gurang
6. Patinggi Gurang	× Pudai (*f*)	Patinggi Ngadan
7. Patinggi Ngadan	× Lementan (*f*)	Bata (*f*)
8. Bata (*f*)	× Sambang	Sang, Nasa (*f*). Inchoh (*f*).
9. Sang	× Selaka (*f*)	Lika (*f*), Nangku (*f*). Lanchang, Changgai.
10. Lika (*f*)	× Pengarah	Gelang (*f*)
11. Gelang (*f*)	× Luna	Ginyam (*f*)
12. Ginyam (*f*)	× Unggam	Malang
13. Malang	× Jumbu (*f*)	Chulo "Tarang"
14. Chulo "Tarang"	× Dinggu (*f*)	Dunkong (*f*) Lanjing (*f*) Tujoh
15. Lanjing (*f*)	× Ratih	Pengarah Undom
16. Pengarah Undom	× Ginyam (*f*)	Nasa (*f*)
17. Nasa (*f*)	× Penghulu Entigu	Ratih

Note:

1. Jelenggai was an ancestor who married Bintang Banyak, and was founder of the strict observance of the "Pleiades" (stars), so that the Sea Dayak farmers might look up to the sky and see the setting of the stars, in order to plant padi at the right time.

[787] 2. Selamuda married a *swine goddess*. He was the originator of the tradition of foretelling the unknown through reading a pig's liver.

3. Begri, son of Selamuda, and his wife Manis Muka the swine goddess, were left with the father when the mother miraculously turned back to be a sow again (cf. *S. M. J.*, 1951, pages 438—441).

7. Patinggi Ngadan was a Sumatran ancestor, said to have immigrated into Sarawak and lived in Saribas. On his arrival at the Ban stream he met Talap of Pasa, who was making a canoe on the river bank. Answering Patinggi Ngadan's question, Talap said that he would claim all the land that stretched upriver as far as the scraps of his wood went up with the tide. Hearing this, Patinggi Ngadan passed on upriver and as he reached Bangai the tide turned down and

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so here he stopped. When he was about to make a fire, by crushing two pieces of stone together, at the bow of the boat, Ngadan accidently dropped one piece into the river. This stone was said to have turned into a huge rock, which even now can be seen on the right bank of Layar River, at a spot called Bangai. Ngadan was buried at Jaloh Cemetery on the right bank of Layar River, below the mouth of Dabok stream. 173 167

9. Sang was a Chief of Anyut Dayaks. He was the father-in-law of Uyut ("Badilang"), in Genealogy I.

10. Pengarah was a warrior who served under his father-in-law, Sang, to drive away the Serus in the Anyut.

14. Chulo ("Tarang") was a famous warrior under Linggir and later under Minggat. He rendered service to the Government of Sarawak, which led to his nomination as Penghulu in the upper Krian. During Linggir's war against Sugai, Tarang captured eight slaves; and when he was following the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang's expedition against Banting, he killed two enemies. He was one of the first Sea Dayak Chiefs to become *Christian*. He died in 1887.

16. Pengarah Undom of Nanga Grenjang, Krian, was one of Tarang's grandsons. He died approximately two years ago.

17. Penghulu Entigu of Nanga Grenjang was elected chief to succeed his father-in-law, and is the present Penghulu of the upper Krian.